
STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

of the common meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic Romania

February 29, 1972

Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Comrades, the purpose of this meeting is to make a first appreciation of President Nixon's visit to the Chinese People's Republic. We have made an exchange of opinions within the framework of the Presidium, and we have felt that it is good to broaden this exchange of opinions in order to establish a common orientation as regards the way this visit and its outcomes should be appreciated and understood. To better understand the outcomes of this visit, we must start from the fact that, of late, a lot of big changes and mutations have occurred as regards the ratio of forces. New states have appeared, with which the United States of America has to share the domination. Japan and the Federal Republic Germany are the states in point. One may say that, as a result of these changes, the bankruptcy of the old imperialist policy of force, diktat, intervention in the affairs of other states, as well as the fact that no country can any longer act as it likes and impose its will to other states becomes more and more evident. Generally speaking, there assert themselves the new principles in the relationships between states, their equality as to rights, the observance of the sovereignty and national independence, the non-interference in the internal affairs and the mutual advantage (?), of the policy of renouncing force or threatening with force in the relations between states. There are also taking place important mutations in the countries that, after the Second World War, gained their independence and manifest themselves ever stronger in the international life, and the influence of the socialist countries and their prestige and the prestige of their policy increase – by and large – in international life. In this context takes place the affirmation of the Chinese People's Republic in the international life, which resulted in its admission to UNO with a great majority of votes, and its recognition – during the last year – by several tens of new countries. The visit of the president of the United States, Richard Nixon, to the Chinese People's Republic, and the talks he had there, have also occurred in this context.

One may say that the visit is an event of historical importance in the relationships between China and the United States, as well as in the international life. In actual fact, it confirms the big changes that are taking place in the world arena and is, concurrently, intended to open a new stage in international life. From the way the visit unfolded and, especially, from the joint Sino-American communiqué, a few important conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, the fact is apparent that – during the visit – there were approached, in all seriousness and in a constructive spirit, both the issues of the relationships between the two countries and some of the most important international issues.

Secondly, the fact that – although there are fundamental differences between the two countries that were spoken about and were not sidestepped or overlooked in any way whatsoever – it was demonstrated on the occasion of these talks that the issues between countries with different social systems can be approached constructively, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and a basis for collaboration and settling of such issues can be found, no matter how complicated these issues are.

Taking into consideration all that has been known until now, one may assert that the agreements concluded between China and the United States of America can in no way whatsoever be looked upon as directed against other states; to the contrary, as it is so pregnantly apparent from the joint communiqué, in these agreements the necessity is strongly affirmed for the big countries and – in general – for all of the states of not pursuing in any way – in their mutual rapports – to cause damage to the interests of other states, be they big, medium, and small.

In appreciating the visit and its outcomes, we have to rely on facts, not on assumptions, as some people try to do. It can be appreciated at the outset that the outcomes are positive, that the agreements concluded will exert a strong positive influence on the normalization of the relationships between the Chinese People's Republic and the United States of America, that they will strongly influence the development of the situation in South-East Asia, in the sense of its getting stabilized and of a policy of cooperation emerging and, in general, will exert a strong influence on the whole international life.

As all of you have retained, I think, in the joint communiqué are asserted – in all clarity – the positions of the Chinese People's Republic on the fundamental issues of the development of the contemporary world. I think that this thing really deserves to be emphasized because it is, in fact, a new manner of approaching the issues in a joint communiqué when the parties clearly assert their positions, and in this regard I am referring to the Chinese People's Republic, to its positions on the issues of social development, the issues of revolution, the issues of the movement of national liberation, and the issue of ensuring the victory of the progressive forces. This fact, however, and the acceptance by the United States that it is affirmed as a position of China's in a joint communiqué is – however – an especially important thing and demonstrates the firmness and consistency with which the Chinese People's Republic defends these principles. This will undoubtedly exert an influence over the positions that will be adopted by other countries as well, and by the anti-imperialist forces, over the international issues.

The fact also deserves mentioning that, simultaneously, the United States likewise affirms its positions of principle on a number of issues, positions which – however – seemingly originate in the necessity of going towards a policy of peace, of taking into account the aspirations of the peoples and nations towards freedom and progress, of doing away with the danger of an aggression from abroad.

Even in this form, where these positions of the United States' are specified, the fact deserves retaining that, actually, the United States is forced to take a clear stand – of course, we still have to see whether it will take such a stand – on some issues of great importance for international life, contending that it is ready to renounce the policy of aggression and interference in the affairs of other states, and enumerating a series of things that I think you have read, so there is no point in our referring to them any longer.

From this point of view, even the presentation of the standpoints of the two sides is interesting, instructive, and – at any rate – demonstrates that the principles underlying the basis of the international position of our country are strongly reflected in these affirmations of principle. It goes without saying that the affirmation of these positions is a good fact, but they are to be put into practice. We have not even the shadow of a doubt that the Chinese People's Republic will act in accordance with this spirit and is waiting for the United States to prove that it has drawn all of the conclusions from the failures of its policy up to now – including the policy of isolation and fencing in of China, the policy of war, of aggression – and that they will understand that what they asserted in this communiqué must constitute a real orientation of their future foreign policy. Naturally, we do not nurture any illusions that this thing will be achieved on its own; but this very affirmation must constitute – for all of the anti-imperialist, progressive forces – an impetus to intensify their action of imposing the abiding by these principles.

Secondly, the affirmation with clarity has to be mentioned of the principles underlying the relationships between states, principles that are now asserted as a joint viewpoint of the two states and which clearly show

that the existence of differences between the states with different social and political systems must not hinder their peaceful coexistence, and enumerates the principles on which they have to base their mutual relationships, such as the respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity of all of the states, no aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual advantage and peaceful coexistence, and the fact that the international disputes must be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use of force or threatening with force; the two states undertake and declare that they are willing to apply these principles in the relationships between them as well.

You know very well the consistency with which Romania militated and is militating now for the affirmation of these principles in international life; these principles imposed themselves in international life as a result of an intense activity of the anti-imperialist forces, in the ranks of which Romania had and has a very active role.

The fact likewise deserves mentioning that, as rumor has it, the two countries will abstain from a policy of hegemony in Asia and [Oceania], that the two sides oppose the tendencies of any countries or groups of countries to establish such hegemony, and that none of the sides is willing to negotiate on behalf of a third party or conclude agreements with the other side, which refer to other states; and, as it is pointed out further, that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world that one of these two big countries be in cahoots with the other against other countries or that the big countries divide the world in spheres of interests. I think that these assertions and clarifications, which are actually common points of view of the two countries, have a great importance and, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that their appearance is the outcome of the firm position of the Chinese People's Republic, of the Chinese leaders, of the fact that the Chinese People's Republic is determined not to participate in any way in the policy of dividing the world in spheres of influence, and also to oppose any kind of policy of domination and diktat.

Within the framework of this communiqué it is also specified, with clarity, the stance of the Chinese People's Republic on the situation in Indochina, the firm position of support of the demands of the revolutionary (!) government in the South (?), as well as of the Democratic Republic Vietnam, and of the requests of all of the peoples in Indochina that the United States discontinue the aggression, and retreat their troops completely. There must also be remembered the idea and the clear way in which the position of the Chinese People's Republic on the Taiwan issue is expressed, a position that blows to smithereens any speculation made on the eve of Nixon's visit and during it, according to which People's China would be ready to accept a number of concessions to this issue, giving up its legitimate rights to this territory. The fact that, in a certain form, although a not altogether clear one, Nixon admits that Taiwan belongs to China, and that the Taiwan issue must be solved by the Chinese themselves, and that with this end in view the United States will proceed – in the future – to the definitive retreat of their troops and military installations, is – however – a positive aspect of great importance because, in actual fact, it is an express admission of the fact that the whole policy of the United States and of other governments until now, of the two Chinas or of a China and a Taiwan has failed completely, that today the Taiwan issue can be approached in no other way than as an internal issue of China that only China is in a position to solve. Actually, as an apparently logical consequence, there appears the declaration of the Japanese Prime Minister, issued right away, in which it is pointed out – unambiguously – that there is only one China and it is this China that must be recognized, that nobody can any more contest the fact that Taiwan is an integral part of China.

This firm stance of China's and the recognition, in essence, of this real situation by the United States will step up the solution of the Taiwan issue. The fact that the Japanese have taken this initiative shows, beyond any doubt, that Japan – in its turn – will exert an influence on the future position of the United States, which this way are abandoned – so to say – by their last ally that firmly had supported them until the day before yesterday in this position. Consequently, at least as regards this issue, the results of the visit and of the

communiqué manifest themselves with a big enough force.

It goes without saying that it would have been better for the development of the relationships between China and the United States, as well as for the situation in South-East Asia and in the world, if the United States had drawn all of the conclusions from the recognition of this reality and decided to retreat their troops and military installations right away. But, even under these conditions, we appreciate that the content of the communiqué and the results of the talks are positive and open a very serious way for the solving of this important issue.

I think it is good for us to underscore once more the fact that the two sides have pointed out, by common agreement, and admitted the important role which all of the states are playing and must play in international life and, especially, the clarification made by the Chinese side regarding the role that the small and medium countries must have in international life.

Concerning the bilateral relationships, the provisions in the communiqué regarding the wish of the two sides to broaden the understanding between the two peoples, develop the collaboration in the fields of science, technology, culture, and sports, have more frequent contacts, establish the contact modalities by special representatives of the United States for the discussion of important issues, and develop the economic collaboration, also open significant windows of opportunity for the normalization of the relationships between China and the United States, with important consequences for the whole international life. Of course, comrades, at this moment it is still difficult to draw all of the conclusions and completely appreciate the special importance of this visit, the influence that it will exert on the development of international situation. The subsequent unfolding of events will help us better understand them, and the way the issues will be solved and the stances the two sides will take in a number of practical problems of international life will confirm the fact that what was provided in the communiqué will actually constitute the orientation the two sides are decided to follow/pursue.

As I have already said, we can but salute the visit and its outcomes, appreciate these outcomes positively, express the conviction that the Chinese People's Republic and its leaders will firmly apply the relevant provisions in practice, and concurrently express the hope that the United States will also draw all of the conclusions deriving from this visit. Naturally, the conclusions that must be reached – and that can be expected – mean that the United States has to go to the end as regards the recognition of reality and evacuate Taiwan as soon as possible, solve – within the framework of the Paris Conference – the issues of Indochina by the total retreat of their troops on the basis of the proposals of the revolutionary government in the South, of the government of the Democratic Republic Vietnam, and of the other states and, practically, to renounce – in all of the locations – the policy of force, threat, and intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

I think that it is also necessary for us to reach a few conclusions for the activity of Romania. Firstly, I would underscore on this occasion as well the justness of Romania's policy of developing the relationships and the broad contacts with all of the states. In this framework, it is more clearly apparent how well Romania proceeded and how just are the decisions of our 10 Congress, which also confirmed our foreign policy, but likewise traced guidelines for the development of relationships with all of the states, of strongly affirming the new principles in international relationships, and of acting in all firmness to make these principles triumph.

Now it can also be noticed, with more clarity, the justness of our actions of establishing relationships with the Federal Republic Germany and of the fact that these exerted a positive influence on the development of the situation in Europe by means of European security, the justness of the development of our relationships with the other European states, of the relationships with the United States of America, including Nixon's visit to Romania. In fact, as Romania is the first socialist country visited by a president of the United States and where Nixon declared that he was determined to respect the independence, and the sovereignty, not to

interfere in the internal affairs, and lay these principles at the basis of relationships.

This brings out the fact that it is necessary for us to continue, with firmness, to apply the policy outlined by the 10th Congress, develop the relationships with all of the states and, in this context, to specially develop the relationships with the developing countries, to further lay important emphasis on increasing the role of the small and medium countries in international life. Life and events demonstrate that these countries can, and already play, an important role, and their say must be taken into account. In this context has also to be considered the visit we are going to make to eight countries in Africa, a visit that is the very confirmation – in practice – of this policy of development of the relationships with the developing countries, with the small and medium countries, of acting in all strength for the affirmation of the principles which we referred to in the relationships between states, in international life.

We hope that the visit to be made by Nixon to Moscow in May will also take place in the spirit of strengthening the forces of socialism, affirming the principles of equality of rights and the respect between all of the states, and that in this manner it will be possible to take new steps on the way to developing international collaboration.

We can say, therefore, that in the year 1972 – which began with such events of historical importance – can be looked upon as being a year that will open the avenue towards a policy of collaboration and peace, of stronger affirmation in international life of the principles of respect and independence between all of the states, of renouncing force and threatening with force, in order to create conditions for the passage to the carrying out of measures of disarmament and, especially, nuclear disarmament, to thus make easier the armament burden of the peoples, and create a climate of more trust, creating in this way the proper conditions for the peoples to focus more on their economic and social development, on the raising of their material and spiritual welfare.

In my opinion, it is in this spirit that we could appreciate and judge President Nixon's visit to the Chinese People's Republic and its outcomes, as well as the communiqué that was issued on the occasion of this visit. Naturally, this concomitantly shows the necessity of overcoming the differences between the socialist countries, differences that can and must be overcome by an action of all of the countries; in this respect, Romania made its contribution and is determined to make a contribution in the future as well. We take the view that, if it is possible to achieve a peaceful coexistence with the countries with different social systems, then it will be possible to achieve active coexistence between the socialism-building countries – even though there are differences of opinions on an issue or another between them – and one has to act in this spirit.

Romania is going to act – as it has done until now – in this direction.

Simultaneously, we should not forget that in the whole development of international life it is the emergence of the conscience of the popular masses, of the peoples, which become ever more aware of the force they represent, and that are rising – as you know – in various places to decidedly fight against the imperialist policy of force and dictat that has the decisive role. It is the very intensification of these battles of the masses and the peoples that has, in the long run, the decisive role in bringing about these changes in the ratio of forces, and in the conscience of politicians. It is from here that the necessity derives of intensifying the activity of uniting the efforts of the popular masses, of the peoples in the battle against the old policy, for a policy of collaboration and peace in the world.

Here are, comrades, a number of conclusions that we had better reach at the very outset on these issues. I ask the comrades who wish to say something to take the floor.

It goes without saying that there is no point in asking questions since we did not take part in the talks, so we are not in a position to give you details.

Cde. Emil Bodnăraş:

I would make a proposal, namely that the appreciations included in cde. Ceauşescu's exposé – as a result of the consultation we had within the framework of the Presidium yesterday and with the clarifications that were made here, especially as regards our stance, its validity and the firmness with which it must be continued in all of our actions – should be written down as an official internal document of the Executive Committee and of the government, which – it seems to me – is present here, and constitute the basis of our orientation as to the presentation of our point of view in public. Cde. Nicolae Ceauşescu omitted to mention here that we are thinking about an appreciation, a characterization, or an expression of our position in connection with the final part of this communiqué...

Cde. Nicolae Ceauşescu:

Ah, OK, we will publish it in the press.

Cde. Emil Bodnăraş:

But to have as a guideline, as a basis this exposé and these appreciations, but in an appropriate form.

Cde. Nicolae Ceauşescu:

Of course, we will send [it] to the ambassadors, and to the diplomatic agencies (?).

Cde. Emil Bodnăraş:

I think that it is specially necessary that our foreign services, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs document – first of all – our [diplomatic] representations in the spirit of this exposé so that they may have a position, an attitude, in their various opportunities – official, semi-official/informal, unofficial – in contacts with the remainder of the diplomatic corps, all the more so as we can derive some appreciations that have a tendency to distort the content, the meaning of this communiqué of special importance to the development of international political life. And it is good for our diplomats to be well documented and armed to cope with the situations, where they could come up against other points of view than those resulted from the characterizations given by the general secretary of the party to this specially important international political moment.

In the same vein, as regards the orientation of the activity of our economic services abroad, the trust with which this line of strengthening the relationships with all of the states, with all of the countries should be followed. On this line, It is also obvious, clear that our position – which we have pursued with unabated consistency, and which, as cde. Ceauşescu mentioned, found its expression in the confirmation by the 10th Congress of its justness, and in the further guidance of our policy – is very much strengthened in the light of this international event, and its justness is wholly confirmed. After all, this position is now accepted – in the light of this document – by two of the biggest forces of the world: the capitalist force and the socialist one.

Cde. Nicolae Ceauşescu:

It was also confirmed in Prague, in the communiqué that was issued, in the appreciation of the issues of European security, the role of the Federal Republic Germany, and of the [Willy] Brandt-[Walter] Schell government.

Cde. Emil Bodnăraş:

This is the proposal I wanted to make.

Cde. Petre Lupu:

As I fully agree with the appreciation that was made, and with the conclusions for us – and with the recommendation that this appreciation be sent to our representations abroad – I would like to propose, if possible, to send this appreciation, in some form or another, to our local party organs as well so that our party active be also guided with respect to the way these events should be appreciated, taking into consideration the fact that any kind of questions, of issues can be raised in our country, too. It seems to me that this thing is very important.

Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I had it in mind for us first to agree on the appreciation, and afterwards to think about the persons we are going to inform. That is why I did not refer to this thing.

It is clear that the appreciation we are making here must be known by the party and by all of our cadres. But given the fact that this is an important moment, I thought it necessary for the Executive Committee and the central basic cadres, the government, the section chiefs of the Central Committee, and the press to take part in the discussion of these issues in order to establish a sole orientation, which will have to underlie our whole activity in all of the fields: press, radio, television, propaganda, foreign relationships a.s.o.

Maybe there are comrades attending, who have other opinions and want to underscore some aspects. Sure enough, as I said at the outset, I have only intended to underscore a few things now.

We will have the national conference and, on that occasion, we will probably make a comprehensive appreciation of international life. The national conference will take place after [the meeting at] Moscow; consequently we will have more information and data for judging things.

Are there no other opinions? Then do you agree with this appreciation, comrades? (Yes, yes.). We are of the opinion that this is the point of view of the Executive Committee, the Government, and the party active attending this meeting.

Let us proceed, therefore, in the proposed sense, in other words in the sense of [this point of view] being at the basis of our whole activity.

This meeting is now adjourned.

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[Translation for PHP from Romanian Archives by Viorel Buta]